

See

U.S.A.

Vol. XIV

February 24-March 10, 1967

Nos. 4 & 5

BERKELEY AT PRINCETON

A Report by
ALICE WIDENER
on the First Major Regional
RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT CONFERENCE
held by
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
at
McCOSH HALL, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
February 17, 18 and 19, 1967

"I very deliberately didn't prepare a paper—all of you read the paper I gave at the Socialist Scholars Conference. . . . All this is within a certain logic, the basic concept of Lenin. My argument supports that."

—PROFESSOR HARRY MAGDOFF

February 19, 1967, McCosh 10
Princeton University

Publisher: Alice Widener

U.S.A. is published every other week. Address:
530 East 72nd St., New York, N. Y. 10021.
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President; Newton H. Fulbright; Alexander C.
Dick, Secretary and Treasurer.
Subscription price: \$10.00 a year in the United
States. Twenty-four dollars a year elsewhere.

THE ADVANCE PUBLICITY

Early in February 1967, the New York City office of Students for a Democratic Society, 49 West 27th Street, announced that the first major SDS regional Radical Education Project conference would take place at Princeton University, February 17-19, and issued the following schedule:

Friday evening, February 17, A NEW SDS DOCUMENT, by 3 New School¹ Students, Dave Gilbert, Bob Gottlieb and Gerry Tenney—"THE PORT AUTHORITY STATEMENT"—prepared as a sequel to Port Huron,² towards a general theory of change. Followed by commentary by Alexander Ehrlich of Columbia Univ. Economics Dept., veteran radical journalist Max Gordon, and Jim Jacobs of the national REP staff.

Saturday, February 18: A DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY OF THE NEW LEFT, by John Cowley of the New School, discussed by John Maher of Harvard SDS, and Steve Max, former SDS field secretary.

GREG CALVERT, SDS NATIONAL SECRETARY, talks about new possibilities for organizing in the student movement and in the larger New Left; ADJUSTING OUR PERSPECTIVES: A LOOK AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY by sociologist NORMAN BIRNBAUM of the New School, with commentary by John Fuerst of Columbia SDS and Jim Sommers, CCNY sociologist.

Sunday, February 19: HARRY MAGDOFF, New School economist, discusses two aspects of his paper "The Economics of U.S. Imperialism" (see *Monthly Review*, Nov. '66), THE EFFECTS OF MILITARY SPENDING ON THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY and THE NATURE OF U.S. INVESTMENTS ABROAD. Comments by Rick Wolff of Yale and Ray Brown of Sarah Lawrence College Dept. of Economics. PAUL SWEEZY, editor of *Monthly Review*, on CORPORATE TECHNOLOGY. DR. E. J. NELL on POTENTIALS FOR SOCIAL LIBERATION in the automated society. Work sessions on radical education project.

¹ Formerly, New School for Social Research in New York City.

² The Port Huron (Michigan) Statement is the original SDS founding document, drafted mainly by Tom Hayden in 1962.

On February 8, 1967, *The Princetonian* carried the following front page center column news report:

SDS CONFERENCE CALLED TO PRESENT EDUCATION PROJECT

by CHUCK KERR
and JOE FIELD

The Princeton chapter of Students for a Democratic Society will sponsor the world's first Radical Education Project in McCosh 10, February 17, 18 and 19.

The conference, including REP chapters from throughout the Northeast, will discuss the Port Authority manifesto which is a revised and modernized version of the Port Huron statement.

The *de facto* constitution of the anti-dogmatic SDS, the Port Huron Statement is now considered, "while good . . . outdated and naive," according to Princeton SDS president Robert G. Burlingham '67.

Though not an ideological platform, the new Port Authority statement attempts to correlate current SDS thought in regard to contemporary domestic and foreign issues.

Educational Arm

REP, according to an SDS spokesman, "is the educational arm of SDS." It was created³ to formulate radical left-wing thought, through periodic conferences and study groups.

Although this is to be the first major REP conference in REP's short history, fewer than 200 delegates representing sundried affiliations are expected. Community action conferences in Washington and New Brunswick will siphon off some potential delegates.

Voice of the New Left

Speakers will include: three New School students who penned the Port Authority Statement; Harry Magdoff, speaking on American imperialism; Leo Huberman discussing monopoly capital and Gray [sic]⁴ Calvert, the National Secretary of SDS, who will outline his program for organizing students.

Although the conference has no practical pretensions, it is intended to make SDS policy more coherent in the future. Many important SDS leaders plan to attend the colloquium.

³ See U.S.A., Vol. XIII, September 19, No. 19.

⁴ His name is Greg, not Gray.

AMONG THE AUDIENCE

Indeed many important leaders in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) did attend the Radical Education Project (REP) conference in McCosh Hall at Princeton University during the very cold snowy week-end of February 17, 18 and 19. So did important Communists and fellow travelers in the Old and New Left. In every way the REP conference at Princeton bore witness to the truth of testimony given on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. about Students for a Democratic Society by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation: "Communists are actively promoting and participating in the activities of this organization, which is self-described as a group of liberals and radicals."

If ever there was an "extremist" gathering in our country, this was it. Yet despite Mr. Hoover's public warning about SDS and despite the front page advance publicity in *The Princetonian*, not a single member of the Princeton University top administration was present at the week-end conference, no trustee was there, and no prominent representative of the student body to take open issue with the Leftists who spent the entire week-end defaming the United States of America.

Absent too were those members of the New York City press and radio-TV broadcasting networks who specialize in bitter opposition to "extremism" and manage to attend and roundly denounce alleged "extremist" gatherings on the political right. It seems reasonable to assume that if *The Princetonian* had carried a front page news story about a forthcoming conference to be held at the university by a youth group even faintly suspected of connection with "the Far Right," there would have been a torrent of protest in the New York City liberal newspapers and probably there would have been a small army of reporters and broadcasters present to describe in detail the personal physical appearance of speakers and delegates, to report on their remarks, and to analyze every aspect of the proceedings. Somehow one doubts the sincerity of "liberal" reporters and broadcasters

professing to abhor extremism but recognizing its existence only in groups regarded as "rightists."

There were, for example, no little old ladies in tennis shoes at the Princeton University SDS conference. But there were quite a few little old ladies in galoshes or snow boots who have been longtime supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, and of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, though the latter organization claims to have disavowed SDS which is an outgrowth of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

"I've been a supporter of the L.I.D. for longer than I can remember, said gray-haired Katherine Smith of Long Island to some companions in McCosh Hall, and went on to express her enthusiasm for the young radicals in SDS. "We're struggling with the question," she said in an I-wouldn't-hurt-a-fly voice, "of getting in touch with high school seniors."

A much younger woman present was Mrs. Susan A. Schwartz of Trenton, who talked to SDS members during lunch and recess periods about the New Jersey DuBois Clubs and tried to recruit them into the Communist-controlled groups. "The trouble is," she explained to a woman in her sixties, "some of them really would like to join us, but they think it's best not to because they plan to go into big law firms or industries after college and carry on their radical work from inside them. They feel DuBois Club membership might hurt their chances of getting in to where they want to go. They say otherwise they'd be with us." She paused for breath and went on happily, "But we've been successful with a few. We feel the best way to get them in is through a peace group."

A heavy-set, middle-aged man named Abe Weisberg was at the Radical Education Project conference in McCosh 10 at Princeton. A worker in the Spring Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York City, he was recruiting participants for a demonstration on April 15 at the United Nations and explained, "We're trying to get the grounds of the U.N. open to

In conversations among some recruits there was talk of "organizing training groups on how to break through police lines, get past security guards, and get right into the guts of the places we're going to go. This time we're not going to stay outside police lines at the U.N. We're going to break through, get past security guards, and go right in the headquarters and GA buildings. If there's any rough stuff, they'll be to blame and be exposed for the police brutes and fascists they are."

It was obvious that "GA" meant the U.N. General Assembly building. If plans discussed at the Berkeley-at-Princeton SDS Radical Education Project conference and in other radical circles and "peace" groups across our nation are not frustrated before April 15, it will require thousands of police to restrain the illegal activities of demonstrators bent on trouble-making and perhaps thousands of National Guardsmen. There seems to be no doubt that certain elements in the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam want violence at home and will do anything to get it, for it is inevitable that if a mass effort to penetrate police lines and get past security guards is undertaken, then someone will be hurt, no matter how careful the law-enforcement officers are in trying to avoid a bloody incident.

On February 26, *The New York Times* carried a special report by Douglas Robinson on the Spring Mobilization Committee. The *Times* reporter quoted the committee's national director, the Reverend James Bevel, as saying he will not exclude radical organizations from his movement even at the risk of alienating moderate groups. This is not surprising because James Bevel was a main speaker at the January 15, 1966 Chicago organizing conference of the radical activist Committee for Independent Political Action at McCormick Place,⁵ in which notorious Communists and race riot instigators took part. So did leaders of Students for a Democratic Society.

At the recent SDS Princeton conference, there were present not only

delegates from the Northeast region of our nation but also "hippies" from San Francisco and agitators from Berkeley. One of the latter told the assembly at Princeton during a discussion from the floor, "I spent nine years working in politics at Berkeley." In the lectures delivered from the dais in McCosh 10 and during the ensuing discussion periods, the language concerning our country and many of its most prominent civic and business leaders was slanderous but clean, in fact, cultivated, eloquent and even erudite. At mealtimes and between formal sessions, however, the tongues of many SDS members and other youthful participants, both male and female, were as filthy as their fingernails, hair and clothes.

Advance notices sent out to registered REP conference participants advised them to "bring sleep-wear" for use in inexpensive overnight accommodations at Princeton. Many of the young people did lug along bundles of it and dragged them into McCosh 10 on Sunday afternoon prior to the final conference session. The stench of the sleep-wear equalled the filth of the social conversation.

On Sunday morning at McCosh, Sue Eneat of the New York City SDS office took the microphone to thank the Princeton University administration. "They've been very good to us about custodial help and not charging much for the rooms," she said.

Possibly the Administration later discovered it should have charged much more. There was general defiance of the "No Smoking" signs on McCosh walls and the floors were littered with cigarette butts, sandwich and chewing gum wrappers. It must have cost a pretty penny to clean up the Gothic hall which, for the week-end of February 17, 18 and 19, became Berkeley-at-Princeton.

THE UNITED STATES: "MONSTER" AT McCOSH

When the janitors did their work, it is to be hoped they let in fresh air. During the entire week-end, the stale air was infected with impiety, with facts rudely strumpeted, with falsehood exuded in dulcet tones of

virtue, with insult and injury to America.

On Monday, February 20, *The Princetonian* carried the headline, "SDS-REP Conference Derogates Capitalism" over an excellent short account by reporter Larry Rosenberg, who wrote critically and accurately:

The arrow on the west door of McCosh 10 pointed left. And the SDS's first regional Radical Education Project (REP) conference, held at Princeton this week-end, clearly went in that direction.

"The fact of the war in Vietnam has accelerated the change in American society," declared the conference coordinator Steve Halliwell Friday night, "and it is important to recognize the challenges and problems created by this change."

Described by Halliwell as "the most loose-hanging conference that ever hit Princeton," the organizers attacked the evils of "corporate liberalism"⁶ as the basis of a need for radical change in American society.

Dave Gilbert, a graduate student at the New School for Social Research, opened the ideological aspect of the conference Friday night by attacking the domination of "corporate capitalism" in American politics. . . .

The Port Authority statement⁷ entitled "Towards a Theory of Social Change in America" analyzed present conditions in American society and indicated a need for elimination of U.S. imperialism. . . .

From an examination of the political economy of the United States, Gilbert holds that "American capitalism, even if taken as an internal system, is a violent system."

The 58-page [Port Authority] paper also considered the concept of "post-scarcity" as the nearest modern linguistic equivalent to the socialist "withering away of the state." . . .

As reported in *The Princetonian*, most REP speakers used modern linguistic equivalents for classical Marxist-Leninist terminology. They argued that under the present American economic system, only "imperialists" and "monopoly capitalists"

enjoy affluence and adequate consumption; the working class majority, they claim, suffer from "scarcity" and any "post-scarcity" economy would therefore have to be a socialist one.

A Columbia University student, who said that the American people enjoy the highest living standard and widest mass consumption of goods and services in the world, seemed to be somewhat shaken by the proceedings at McCosh. He asked a few penetrating questions during open discussion from the floor. Later another Columbia student, evidently troubled, cornered Dave Gilbert during lunch hour and pressed him for a statement of SDS-REP aims.

The Technique of Demands

"Eventually," said Gilbert, "we seek to create a communist society in which everything will be decentralized and there will be no formal educational institutions. People wanting to know things will seek out persons with knowledge."

The Columbia student asked how SDS intends to achieve radical change in American society.

"We use the technique of demands," explained Gilbert, "always pushing and pushing on through demands, to an end where they have to give in or fight against the revolution."

To a student of classical communism, there is little difference between Mr. Gilbert's technique and that of traditional Communist revolutionary action whereby the middle class (bourgeoisie) are pressed into such an adverse situation that they must resist or surrender. Communists always deny they seek violent overthrow of the existing government; they claim it is the bourgeoisie's foolhardy resistance to their own inevitable destruction that leads to violence, a resistance that becomes violent through futile efforts at self-defense.

On Saturday afternoon, Greg Calvert, newly elected National Secretary of Students for a Democratic Society addressed the Princeton conference. Calvert, a small brush mustache, and wearing

his light brown hair just a little long at the back, Calvert jokingly described himself as a "prairie dog" visitor to the East from the prairie state and began his speech with the declaration, "The movement for radical change in America is going through change." He said radicals must now "orient themselves toward the third world revolution." It is against, he said, "the American monster." Defining the monster as "American corporate capitalism," he characterized it as "incredibly brutal at home and abroad." He described the new radicalism in America as coming from "deep gut level perception of human beings" and defined this perception as "revolutionary class consciousness—to use traditional⁸ vocabulary."

The main aim of the SDS-REP conference at Princeton during the mid-February week-end was to depict the United States of America as a monster. After hours and hours of listening to the speeches and discussions, it seemed McCosh Hall itself became a Gothic fiend belching calumny against our country and isolating the conferees in mental cubicles walled with mirrors reflecting horrible images.

When white-haired Paul Sweezy, editor of the Far Leftist *Monthly Review* was introduced to the SDS gathering on Sunday afternoon, all were urged to buy his book "Monopoly Capital," written with the late Paul A. Baran, and described as "must" reading. Copies were on sale outside McCosh 10 throughout the week-end. Published in 1966, the book bears the dedication "For Che"—probably meaning Che Guevara of Red Cuba—and the following quotation on a flyleaf:

Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster in which the taints, the sickness, and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions.

—Frantz Fanon

In a preface to his book, Sweezy writes, "One type of criticism we would like to answer in advance. We

⁶ By "corporate liberalism" the SDS radicals mean American businessmen's support of measures that improve conditions in our economic and social system.

⁷ This document was not circulated at the conference with the excuse that only a few copies were in existence. Xerox copies would be made available, as was explained.

⁸ Traditional Marxist vocabulary.

A Red Sermon

shall probably be accused of exaggerating. It is a charge to which we readily plead guilty. In a very real sense the function of both science and art is to exaggerate, provided that what is exaggerated is truth and not falsehood."

Sweezy's sophistry is characteristic of his tortured Marxist dialectic, for truth is truth and, being so, cannot be exaggerated, as William Shakespeare recognized when he cried out in Sonnet LXVI for restful death, so tired was he of eleven evils among which was "simple Truth miscall'd Simplicity."

The miscalling of simple truth, through over-simplification or exaggeration, was a ritualistic intellectual process throughout the SDS-REP conference at Princeton. From the dais in McCosh 10, Sweezy said the technology of 20th century capitalism is merely "perfected means of destruction" and tied solely to profits. "It follows," he said, "you cannot reform this monopoly capitalist system—all the welfare state does is merely emascuate opposition to the system." Didactically, Sweezy announced, "The only hope is to overthrow the system."

Again and again, Sweezy and the REP conference leaders urged the participants to study "Monopoly Capitalism" in which, after a denunciation of the "intolerable" American social order, and an analysis of the possibility of "a real revolutionary movement in the United States," there is the prediction that "the most powerful supporters of the present irrational system will crumble." The book ends with the mad Hitler-Stalin type statement, "The drama of our time is the world revolution; it can never come to an end until it has encompassed the whole world."

Sweezy ended his Princeton speech with an almost word-for-word repetition of the call in his book to fight against the American capitalist system "which maims, oppresses and dishonors those who live under it, and which threatens devastation and death to millions of others around the globe."

Earlier that day, on Sunday morning at McCosh, a Red sermon was delivered to the SDS-REP conference by "Professor" Harry Magdoff of the New School in New York City. He discussed his paper "The Economics of U.S. Imperialism" (published by *Monthly Review* press, 1966) and portrayed our country as a military-industrial monster seeking "to colonize" West Europe through corporate foreign investments. He showed several charts on a large teaching screen to prove that the domestic internal U.S. economy during the last ten years has been stagnating except for sales and profits derived from exploitation of foreign markets and from military expansion. Having branded the U.S. oil industry with the single sweeping Marxist generalization "oil is pure imperialism of the most arrogant sort," Magdoff turned the heat of his radical ire on General Motors and General Electric, especially the latter.

"I very deliberately didn't prepare a paper," he began his speech, in a palsy-walsy way, smiling at the young people. "All of you read the paper I gave at the Socialist Scholars Conference." Then he praised "the very fruitful discussions I had last week-end at Ithaca with the SDS group."

Evidently Harry Magdoff gets around today with the same nimbleness as in the past. But he is not nearly so reluctant to speak out now as he has been on certain momentous occasions. At Princeton University among fellow radicals, he was willing to state his real intellectual and political position. "All this," he told the SDS-REP conference about the notes, charts and remarks he was presenting, "is within a certain logic, the basic concept of Lenin. My argument supports that."

He has supported it for a long time, even during his employment in the U.S. Government from New Deal days until 1946. Concerning his activities, there is the following Congressional record contained in published hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations, May 10, 1952,

by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee:

Mr. Sourwine (Committee Counsel): "Did you ever know of Harry Samuel Magdoff?"

Mr. Weintraub [David, Department of Economic Affairs, United Nations]: "Yes."

Mr. Sourwine: "Was he employed by the National Research Project [U.S. Work Projects Administration]?"

Mr. Weintraub: "Yes." . . .

Mr. Sourwine: "Did you know that Silverman and Perazich and [Harry] Magdoff and Kaplan and Gromov, all . . . have been named by Elizabeth T. Bentley, who is a self-confessed former Soviet agent, as having been members of an underground group in Washington, the purpose of which was to gather and forward information to the Russian Government?"

Mr. Sourwine: ". . . four groups of persons, all of whom had been cited in sworn testimony as members of the Communist underground [in U.S. Government employ]. . . . The Perlo group was Victor Perlo, Edward J. Fitzgerald, Harold L. Glasser, Charles Kramer, or Krevitzky, Solomon Leshinsky, Harry Magdoff, Allan Rosenberg, and Donald Niven Wheeler; . . ."

Mr. Sourwine: "Do you know Harry Samuel Magdoff?"

Mr. [Irving] Kaplan: "I refuse to answer on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me."

On May 1, 1953, Harry Magdoff himself was questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He refused to answer and took the Fifth Amendment in reply to the question whether he was "at this very moment a member of a secret and espionage ring" operating against the interests of the U.S. Government by Communists and on behalf of the Soviet Union.

With no record, known for so long, it seems inconceivable that

Harry Magdoff should be on the faculty of even such a left-of-center institution as the New School, and almost incredible that he should be permitted to occupy the dais in McCosh 10 at Princeton University to defame our country, its industrial corporations, economic and social system, and political leaders without there having been present to challenge him anyone from the Princeton Administration, or board of trustees, or student government. Granted that most of the young people in McCosh 10 were well aware of and in sympathy with Magdoff's Marxist-Leninist views, there seemed to be present a few young men and women who, like the uneasy, questioning Columbia student, were troubled at what they heard. Had its objectivity been effectively disputed by a Princeton University faculty member or respected Princeton official, perhaps the uncertain young people might have been enlightened and would have quit the conference.

Cherchez La Femme

An undeluded young person there, however, was a beautiful pint-sized blonde dressed in pale lavender and looking as innocent as the driven snow on the campus outside the Chapel across from McCosh Hall. Though not listed as a speaker on the official SDS-REP program, she mounted the dais on Sunday morning to deliver a paper harshly critical of American enterprise in Latin America and especially in Brazil.

She said U.S. investments in Latin America create a new form of dependency there on the part of exporters of raw materials and consumers of U.S. manufactured goods. This exploitation, she said leads to Latin nations' failure to produce for the home market. What U.S. investment in Latin America does, she charged, is to set up "foreign enclaves" in the underdeveloped Latin economies. She quoted but twisted the meaning of a statement by George Moore, president of the First National City Bank, to prove her point, and pronounced his name as if it were that of the devil himself.

It was astonishing to hear the little blonde speak

for she was introduced as "Edith Black of Union Theological Seminary" and she looks like an angel with pink-and-white complexion and long flowing wavy golden hair.

"I am a revolutionist," she told an elderly woman during lunch hour. "Not just a Marxist, a revolutionist." Miss Black discussed with a few friends—all very much in the inside SDS—her contacts with friends at the Leftist radical *Ramparts Magazine*, and said she is now doing some research "with four or five people" that will make the current revelations about the Central Intelligence Agency seem insignificant. "We're working on quite a few situations," she said, and added with a sweet smile, "They'll rock the nation." She said the job done on the National Student Association and other "reformist" groups was easy. "What we're working on now is going to blow the whole CIA works."

When she said "we're doing research on it," the average American would think she meant that she and her friends are doing research on what makes the flowers bloom in May and snowflakes dance in December. But what she really means by "research" was made clear to the REP conference participants while she was on the dais and with charming feminine deference paid highest intellectual tribute to Harry Magdoff.

It seems Miss Edith Black is a very hard worker. She not only attends classes at Union Theological Seminary but also works in a cubicle on the 9th floor at 475 Riverside Drive (the building that houses many religious institutions, including headquarters of the National Council of Churches, a recipient of CIA funds) with a group called "NACLA," North American Congress on Latin America. There was talk at the SDS-REP conference at Princeton of creating a new NACLA magazine to "blow" more revelations about the CIA and "bring down" the "reactionary" governments of several Latin American countries.

To judge by what the *Ramparts Magazine* clique already have accomplished in damaging U.S. national prestige through the CIA revelations, it would be most unwise to discount

the possible achievements of researchers in and around NACLA who are in touch with *Ramparts* and with the SDS Radical Education Project, a general situation substantiating the boast printed in the original REP document issued by SDS at Ann Arbor, Michigan last year that SDS had established an "international intelligence network." (See page 6, *U.S.A. Magazine*, Vol. XIII, September 16, 1966, No. 19—special report on the Second Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars.)

About 300 registrants were present at the SDS-REP conference at Princeton during the February weekend. It would be very, very foolish to estimate their true strength by their number. University administrators and trustees should have learned by now about the danger of the New and Old Left radicals on campus, a militant minority capable of disrupting and even destroying the majority.

Even while the Princeton conference was taking place, a grave crisis created by a handful of Leftist radicals confronted the University of Wisconsin. Elsewhere, the election to high student government office of a radical SDS member at the University of Iowa plunged its administration into a situation with ominous future implications. Greg Calvert, new SDS National Secretary, boasted from the dais in McCosh about the SDS triumph in Iowa.

The Issue Is Control

There is not the slightest doubt about the goals of Students for a Democratic Society. Gerry Tenney, a co-author of the new "Port Authority Statement," summed up the SDS's aim: "The issue is control," he said. "The issue of control is the one issue that exists. To ask for question of control is to ask for the most radical thing. If as radicals we place the question of control as the most important thing, the thing we have to ask for all the time is control."

At Princeton University and at the University of California at Berkeley, at Cornell, Harvard and Yale, at Stanford and Columbia, an important political and academic thing in

the American future will indeed be the question of control. Governors and trustees will be confronted with the question; so will professors, administrators, regents, and all existing law enforcement authorities.

During the winter week-end of February 17, 18 and 19, the worst element among what has come to be called "the Berkeleyites" accomplished exactly what they wanted in McCosh Hall. They entered a citadel of traditional American society and can now use Princeton's prestige in their effort to overthrow our society.

Mission Accomplished

As the Berkeley-at-Princeton conference broke up, late Sunday afternoon, a campus maintenance personnel man watched the departing participants, most of them dirty and

unkempt, and said in disgust, "This week-end this university needed two things: a Joe McCarthy and this year's football team to scrimmage those characters out of the place."

The flagstone walks across the campus were icy; the dark bare tree branches were outlined with whitest snow. A huge round blood-red sun was sinking. It seemed to be setting not in the West but on it.

Across from McCosh stood the Firestone Library and the Chapel in which a Lenten vesper service was being held.

On the dais at McCosh, Saturday, John Cowley, an REP-SDS speaker, had called for "black power, student power, community power, and above all, workers' power. In short, a socialist society!"

In the university Chapel, late Sunday afternoon, a small and devout

congregation stood with bowed heads and recited solemnly, "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible, And in one. . . ."

Two SDS-REP girls in their early twenties, dressed in shiny boots, black stockings and mini-skirts, with long straggly-snaggly hair streaming down from bare heads, wandered into the Chapel and stood there chewing gum and talking loudly to each other.

An elderly lady in the rear turned around and softly said a few words to them.

Outside the Chapel on the slippery icy walk one of the girls spun around toward the other. "Can you imagine?" she sputtered, "Telling us to keep quiet or leave." Furious, she spat out, "Reactionary old witch!"

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THE DEMAND OF THE HOUR

by J. EDGAR HOOVER

(Reprinted with permission from the *F.B.I. Law Enforcement Bulletin*, February 1, 1967.)

"This is a revolution which will be fought everywhere and we will win because there are more of us than there are of them."

The rallying cry of the Hungarian uprising of 1956? Not at all. These words were shouted by a young agitator in December 1966 during riotous disorder on the campus of a large American university. In a continuing series of events, the academic community has been bombarded with civil disobedience, assaults, threats, and riots of unprecedented magnitude.

I think it is appropriate to quote two warnings from statements which appeared here in October 1964 and February 1966:

This academic year will undoubtedly see intensive Communist Party efforts to erect its newest facade (the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America) on the Nation's campuses to draw young blood for the vampire which is international communism. (October 1, 1964)

The unvarnished truth is that the communist conspiracy is seizing this insurrectionary climate to captivate the thinking of rebellious-minded youth and coax them into the communist movement itself or at least agitate them into serving the communist cause. (February 1, 1966)

Has this strategy paid off? The answer, unfortunately, must be a definite yes. Today the communist conspiracy is reaping large dividends from its persistent efforts to gain a toehold on college and university campuses and from its dogged determination to disrupt, through mass agitation, the orderly processes of our educational systems.

The great majority of college students are proud of their American heritage and loyal to the traditions of democracy. However, it is basic communist strategy to further communist objectives with noncommunist hands, and this is exactly

what is happening on some college campuses. The idealism of many American students is being cynically exploited for communist purposes; youthful exuberance is being channeled into unlawful riotous conduct; mocking disdain for democratic processes and moral values is being fed to inquisitive young minds—all under the guise of seeking equal justice or some other noble cause.

At the core of these campus disorders, and often below the surface, we find agitator personnel from organizations such as the communist W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America and their comrades in the Students for a Democratic Society, a so-called "New Left" group; members of the Progressive Labor Party, a pro-Red Chinese group; and individuals associated with organizations under the control of the subversive Socialist Workers Party and similar groups.

There is no place in the academic world, where unencumbered inquiry is essential, for a riot leader's recently voiced blackjack threat of "if they do not accede to our demands, we'll close down their great and profitable university." This is no calm, deliberate search for truth. This is the way of the totalitarian, seeking to enslave through force.

The university graduate of today will tomorrow guide the destiny of this Nation. We want our young people to be able to think for themselves and to be active participants in community life, but we also want them to realize that freedom and justice are secured by law and order; that lasting rights and privileges are possible only by acceptance of responsibilities and obligations.

By the same token, the demand of the hour is for educators with courage, dedicated to the supremacy of law, unafraid to support American principles, and determined that the communist conspiracy shall not dictate the policies of free institutions.